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LECTURE CII.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND THE WORLD

ADDRESS

GIVEN BY

Mr. L. S. AMERY, Secretary of State for India,

at the Oxford Union, on March 6th, 1942.

(Re-printed with acknowledgments from the Nineteenth Century and After).

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

THIS is no time for discussing in detail our war aims. We shall have to pass through many deep waters before the end is in sight, and, meanwhile, all our effort will need to be concentrated on the task of winning through. All the same it may be worth while pausing for a moment to ask ourselves certain very broad questions. What are we fighting for? What is it that we are up against? What shall we continue to be up against when the immediate issue of this war is settled?

WE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

We are fighting, in general terms, for freedom, for the freedom of nations, great and small, to live their own lives secure against aggression; freedom within the nations of thought and speech and political action; freedom from racial intolerance and persecution. On this more general issue we stand side by side with a host of freedom-loving peoples. But we are also fighting in a more intimate and passionate sense for our own existence, for freedom as embodied in the way of life and traditions of this little island and of the world-wide commonwealth which has sprung from its loins, and which, both in its individual members and in its collective structure, is but

an enlargement of the freedom we prize at home. Our freedom here is no mere abstraction, no mere merchanical device for collecting the votes of an arithmetical majority. **It is a living organic thing, a tradition, an instinct, a heritage which has grown through the centuries.** Its foundation was laid long centuries ago, in Norman law and order, order effective to protect freedom, but order—as Magna Charta insisted—under the law. On this foundation of the reign of law we have built up the superstructure of a system of free government based on the essential principle that the law of the land, which governments must obey, can only be changed and develcped with the assent of the people. These fundamental principles we have carried with us wherever we have gone. **Wherever conditions have allowed it our settlers have carried with them the whole system of freedom, both foundation and superstructure. Elsewhere, dealing with different conditions, where the tradition of free self-government was absent, we have at any rate laid the foundation of the reign of law, and have always kept in view the further stage of representative and responsible self-government.**

THE COMMONWEALTH IDEA.

You may have noticed that for the title of this address I have chosen the word 'Commonwealth.' I have done so advisedly, not because I am ashamed of the fine old word 'Empire', but because the term 'Commonwealth'—technically speaking confined to the self-governing parts of the Empire in their co-operative aspect—expresses our spirit and intention with regard to the future character of the whole. I have also done so for the particular reason that the term 'commonwealth' not only denotes the spirit of our association, but has also come to denote the peculiar structure of that association. Elsewhere kindred independent units have come together by the process of federation. They have divested themselves of certain defined elements of their sovereignty and transferred them to a new central authority. The system is one which has great merits, and is comparatively easy where the different units are geographically contiguous. But it creates many difficult problems and is not easily applicable where the units have a very different geographical or economic position or a strong national consciousness. It is worth noting that neither Newfoundland nor New Zealand ever took the opportunity open to them to join the Canadian or Australian federal systems Many of us in my youth were ardent advocates of some system of Imperial federation. In fact, we have developed on a very different line. **We have grown up to find ourselves a group of nations, united by allegiance to a common Crown, the symbolical embodiment of our underlying unity of ideals and traditions, but working in a completely free and informal partnership over the whole field of national life. The British Commonwealth is, in fact, a free association of free nations for all purposes of their common security or common well being.** Whether such an experiment can succeed, whether a political system so completely devoid of any rigid constitutional framework can, in the long run, stand either the strain of war or the centrifugal tendencies of peace, remains

to be seen. We may well say to-day, paraphrasing the words of, Abraham Lincoln that we are engaged in a great war testing whether this commonwealth, or any commonwealth so conceived and dedicated, can long endure.

WHAT ARE WE UP AGAINST ?

What then is it that this commonwealth is up against to-day ? **We are up against aggression and the lust of power run mad, against brutality, treachery, the denial of all the ideals which underlie our Christian civilisation, or, indeed, any civilisation which has a moral or religious basis.** But that is not the whole story. If it were only moral depravity we were fighting, the struggle might be easier to dispose of. What we must realise is that we are up against a world revolution, a revolution acting with peculiarly eruptive and destructive force through particular centres of disturbance and intensifying particular national ambitions, but yet in itself a world-wide and continuing phenomenon. We are indeed confronted, not so much by a single revolution as by a double one, by a political revolution and by a technical revolution. The political revolution, like most other revolutions, is the outcome of the ideas of the study or the pulpit translating themselves, after a certain time-lag, into political thought and action, and accompanied in the process, as is no less usual, by every kind of perversion, excess, and internal and international conflict. To explain what I mean I need only ask you to cast your minds back for a moment to the French Revolution of 150 years ago, which translated into popular terms, and raised to a plane of passionate emotion and action, the rationalist individualist theories of the great French thinkers and writers of the preceding generation. When the fury of the revolutionary wars was spent, the underlying ideas of that revolution became the foundation of the respectable Liberalism of the last century. Meanwhile, the intellectual reaction against rationalist individualism, the reaction embodied in the philosophy of Hegel, in the growth of the conception of evolution in history as well as in biology, has laid increasing emphasis on the organic nature of human society and laid increasing stress upon the dominance of tradition and instinct, the importance of institutions and symbols, the ineffectiveness of mere abstract reason, in human affairs. In violent reaction against the weakness and incoherence of Liberal and Socialist democracies on the Continent it has crystallised into the extravagance of the Totalitarian State. **In reaction against pacifist idealism it has asserted the law of the survival of the fittest in its crudest form—the law of the jungle. Blended with the Prussian militarist tradition, with fantastic racial theories and ambitions, with a desire to be revenged for past defeat and humiliation, and, not least, with the despair of mass unemployment, it produced the German Revolution, with its Robespierre and Napoleon rolled into one in the fantastic figure of Adolf Hitler.** Simultaneously we are passing through a tremendous technical revolution. The French Revolution took place under conditions of production and communications which, save for the mariner's compass and the discovery of America, had hardly changed since the days of the Antonines. The industrial revolution which followed and the

opening up of the resources of the world by steamship and the railway, saw revolutionary frenzy settled down into the bourgeois capitalism of the second half of the last century. The new technical revolution with its mass production on a gigantic scale, but more particularly with tho two new factors of aviation and the wireless and its power of mass propaganda, have enormously intensified not only the economic and consequently fighting potential of the organised state, but also its organised and drilled will-power. **It is that new phenomenon, the highly organised state, planned and directed, yet at the same time inspired by a terrific unity and concentration of purpose, that we are fighting to-day!**

LAISSEZ FAIRE.

We, here, meanwhile have been carrying on, in our social and political structure, on the basis of nineteenth century *laisser faire*, and are to-day painfully struggling to improvise our war organisation, and to turn ourselves into the kind of engine of power into which countries like Germany, Japan and Russia turned themselves years ago. If that is true of this country itself, it is even more true of other parts of the British Commonwealth and of that Commonwealth regarded as a whole. Our Commonwealth is essentially one that has grown up by the methods of *laissez faire* and individual enterprise behind the shield of sea-power won at Trafalgar. We have never seriously contemplated the possibility of that sea-power being weakened, even temporarily or locally, or of individual members of the Commonwealth being so organised as to be capable of defending themselves against a powerful adversary. **Within striking distance, under modern conditions, of Japan, Australia has grown up, not on any planned policy of developing its resources for defence or economic production to match possible dangers, but to such extent as individual capitalists or immigrants have happened to be attracted by its opportunities or their inflow restricted by its legislation.**

THE EMPIRE.

What is true of the Dominions has been even more true of that dependent Empire for which we here have been responsible. We have looked after it according to the best of our lights within the limits of our political outlook; and within the limits of that outlook we have no reason to be ashamed of our handiwork. It has suddenly become the fashion after our recent defeats to decry the British Colonial system, more particularly in the Far East. Let me remind you of what, after all, it achieved and what it stood for. Let me take Hong Kong and Singapore. There, a century ago, Britain acquired a barren rock inhabited by a handful of fishermen, and a derelict village in a mangrove swamp. **British administration, British justice and fair play, drew to those two spots the enterprise and capital of all the world, as well as this country, and an eager concourse of willing workers from neighbouring countries. They made of them two of the world's most prosperous and happy communities.** In Malaya British protection put an end to piracy and the internecine quarrels of minor states. **Without interfering with the traditions, the loyalties and way of life of the Malay population, it found opportunities for the creative enterprise of**

Europeans and the free and effective co-operation of other immigrant communities, Chinese and Indian. All of these lived happily together in a little cosmopolitan world free both from racial oppression and racial bitterness. The one thing we did not do was to prepare them for war. We neither enforced military training on them nor taxed them (beyond a trifling local contribution in the case of Singapore, and generous voluntary contributions from the Malay rulers), for their own defence or the common defence of the Empire. We were proud of that policy. To-day we may realise its inadequacy to meet dangers we should perhaps have foreseen. But it ill becom s those who, in the past, were most vocal in denouncing the British Empire as an empire of militarism and oppression, now to turn round and complain because the peoples of Malaya were unarmed, untrained and, above all, unused to the thought of war. It is equally absurd to suggest that some wider measure of local self-government would have made any material differnce in that respect. **The example of Siam next door, or of Denmark at the other end of the world, show well enongh that independence by itself offers no guarantee of the power of resistance of a people who have never learnt, or have forgotten, to take heed to their defence.**

INDIA.

The same is in no small measure true of India. It has been our boast that India was never deliberately conquered by British arms, that our empire in India grew aided only by a handful of mainly local troops, and that it grew and maintained itself for the simple reason that it was acceptable to the people of India. We were proud that a mere handful, again mainly of Indian troops, preserved the peace of that empire. At the outbreak of war the army in India numbered some 230,000 men, one soldier to every 1,500 of the population of India; one British soldier to every 6,000 of the population. Even so, the main complaint of political India has always been the inordinate scale and expense of India's military organisation. Even we ourselves have felt misgivings on the score that we were asking too much of a poor country, and when, shortly before the war, it came to the question of even a partial mechanisation of the Indian Army, we felt it our duty to contribute towards the expense. When the war began we had practically no war equipment ourselves here, nor even enough of the equipment with which to begin making the equipment of war. It was at no small sacrifice that even a portion of our slowly growing supply of munitions, and of the machine tools and skilled personnel with which to make munitions, could be spared to contribute to help India's military expansion. **Compared with the slenderness of its original resources, and the inevitable difficulty of access to the means of production, the Government of India has achieved wonders in the expansion, training and equipment of its armies. Nothing surely could be more inconsistent than that the people who, a few years ago, denounced the militarism of the Government of India and the crushing burdens imposed on a poor country by the exiguous pre-war preparations, should now suggest that millions of armed and trained warriors could be stamped out of the ground overnight by some political declaration.**

THE FUTURE.

We shall win through somehow. But that will not be the end of the story. We shall defeat the German and the Japanese fury, as we defeated the fury of revolutionary France and the military genius of Napoleon. But the new world forces which are being liberated to-day will not cease working. The genie cannot be imprisoned in his bottle again. The forces of which I speak are economic as well as military, or rather the same forces can find their expression equally in military or economic power—in guns or butter, to quote Goering. It seems to me obvious that in the world of the future the organised community and state, or group of states, must displace, whether in peace or in war, the unorganised, just as, for most purposes, machine production has displaced hand production. By that I do not mean, of course, that the world of the future is to be hand d over to totalitarian or servile régimes. On the contrary, I believe that the most effective and enduring of all forms of organisation will be that which free men work out for themselves.

THE LARGER UNIT.

The problem, moreover, is one not merely of structure but of size. Every factor in the technical development of the world to-day is in favour of the larger unit. We have already seen something of the helplessness of the small state, whose principal cities can be blottedout in half an hour by the overwhelming air force of a powerful neighbour. In the economic field, too, modern mass production demands for its efficiency and stability both a large home market and the control of a wide range of resources. The larger indeed the unit the less the strain upon its structure, and the greater the room for freedom of individual action within it. It is the immense size and immense resources of the United States, insulated, both geographically and economically from the outside world, that have enabled its internal structure to retain its so essentially individualist character.

CO-ORDINATION *versus* CONQUEST.

In any case, it seems to me that the inevitable tendency of the post-war world will be towards the agglomeration of political communities, otherwise inadequate in dimensions and resources to sustain any true independence. **One way of achieving this result is that of conquest and domination—the way of Hitler's New Order, the way of Japan's Far Eastern 'co-prosperity sphere'. The other is by free and equal co-operation.** Must that co-operation necessarily follow the rigid path of federalism ? Or can it be based on the more flexible principle of the commonwealth ? In other words, do I believe that the British Commonwealth, if it survives this war, as I am certain it will, is capable of surviving the stress of the subsequent generation ?

I believe that it can so survive, but only on certain conditions. **The first is that each part must individually organise its own life far more effectively. We here shall have to recast our social and economic life in**

many directions. I believe we can do so without loss of individual freedom or of personality, without injury to the essential character of our national life and with benefit to every class in the community. The same is true of each of the Dominions. **It is, above all, true perhaps of India, whose future problem is even more a question of raising the general standard of life, and of creating that surplus above bare existence which means both welfare and power. Nutrition, industrial development, improvement of agricultural methods, education, these are perhaps the most important of all issues that will face India after the war, whatever her form of Government.** But, secondly, if we are to survive individually, and also to do so on the basis of the greatest possible measure of individual freedom, then we must work together more closely than we have before in our system of free union. We must perfect the machinery of common consultation, of co-operation in defence and in trade, in the mutually planned development of our population and resources. On these conditions I believe our Commonwealth cannot only survive, but prosper beyond the boldest imagination of any of us, and by so doing give an example of infinite value to the rest of the world.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MANKIND.

I know there is a school of thought who would have us abandon the commonwealth experiment in favour of some form of federal union with the United States, and possibly with certain other democratic communities. I do not believe myself that such a union is feasible even among Anglo-Saxon communities. Our traditions, though kindred, have diverged too far in the last 160 years. In any case, such a federal union, if it included Britain and the Dominions of European orgin, could hardly include India or our Colonial Empire. That, in other words, would mean the end of an empire or Commonwealth based, not on race, but on institutions and ideals, and would open out a dangerous vista of future world racical conflicts. We are all naturally and rightly in favour of the most intimate co-operation after this war with the United States for our common welfare and for the peace of the world, but I believe that will be best achieved, not by absorption into some rigid federal scheme, but by free and equal co-operation, in which the British Commonwealth can serve not only as a bridge and nterpreter between America and Europe, but also between the Western world and Asia, and so help to prefigure and pave the way towards the future commonwealth of mankind.

FAITH CAN MOVE MOUNTAINS.

If we are to fulfil this high task it is essential that we should have faith in ourselves, in our ideals and in our methods. It is the fashion to-day to run down the imperialism of an earlier generation, the imperialism of Rhodes and Chamberlain and Kipling. That imperialism may sometimes have struck a narrow, arrogant and even blatant note But it had faith in itself, and in the good it was doing and was destined to do to the peoples with whom it dealt and to the world. The strength of that faith and the seriousness of its idealism were perhaps best expressed in that great statesman, Lord Milner,

and explained the profound influence which he exercised upon so many of the younger men who came in contact with him. The tragedy of the inter-war years was the loss in faith in anything living and concrete, a faith for which enthusiasm about abstract phrases and vague schemes involving no effort or sacrifice can never be a sufficient substitute. The world has changed much in the fifty years since I first attended a debate in this House. It has been changing at an ever accelerating rate. It will change even more rapidly in the future. It is for you here to shape that future. **It has been said that faith can move mountains. Your faith, if only you have faith, can assuredly shape the future both of the British Crmmonwealth and of the world as your vision and your ideals will bid you shape it.**

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

27—6—42 to 3—7-42.

Egypt.—The battle for EGYPT began on Saturday (27th) afternoon with two main clashes, south and west of MERSA MATRUH. It was a battle of manoeuvre, a sparring for position rather than a regular battle. On the same night, a fantastic moonlight battle followed between tanks and anti-tank guns. On Sunday, the enemy bypassed MERSA MATRUH and cut his way to the coast, hoping thereby for another TOBRUK. But MERSA MATRUH had been evacuated a day earlier It was never the British intention to hold it. The German claim to have fought a battle there and taken prisoners is untrue, as there were no soldiers there, either to fight or to be captured when the Germans entered it. Thus was the first battle for EGYPT fought.

The second battle is now proceeding in an area to the east of MERSA MATRUH between the coast and the Quatarra depression. Here, the country, with a base a hundred miles wide, narrows down to a bottle-neck between BAGBAH and FUKA towards the east. Rommel, who has arrived at the base line, is now trying to force his way up the bottle-neck; and mobile forces of the Allied army are constantly attacking him.

General Auchinleck has taken over command of the Eighth Army, at a critical time. It may be remembered that earlier in November, when Rommel made his counter-offensive and jeopardised General Cunningham's advance in CYRENAICA, Auchinleck took over charge and retrieved the position by driving Rommel back to JEDABAYA.

Racing along the coast road to ALEXANDRIA General Rommel has advanced from EL DABA to EL ALAMEIN—where lies the narrowest strip of land between the coast and the Quatarra depression—sandy and rocky and 30 miles wide. Here General Auchinleck has decided to make a stand and fight it out. He has issued the following rousing Order of the Day:

"You have fought hard and continuously for over a month. No troops could have fought better. You have had heavy losses; but in spite of your efforts you have experienced the disappointment of losing ground before the enemy who has superiority in armoured troops.

"It must not be forgotten that he too has had serious losses. His units are much reduced in strength and he is a long way from his supply bases.

"The situation now calls for a supreme effort on the part of us all We are fighting the Battle of EGYPT, a battle in which the enemy must be destroyed. You have shown that you can stick it, and I know you will stick it right out until he can stand it no longer.

"Until he cracks, the enemy must be given no rest. He must be attacked and harried wherever you find him. The battle is not over yet, and will not be over until we have defeated him—and defeat him we will".

It is now revealed that NEW ZEALAND units have joined in the Egyptian defence. Indian troops hold places of honour in the battle for the Nile valley.

Russia.—Germans are pouring reserves continuously into SEBASTOPOL and have driven a widening wedge from the North-east. Fierce hand-to-hand fighting has developed but the position is precarious.

The new thrusts at KUPYANSK and KURSK would appear to herald the much-advertised summer offensive. The first thrust is intended to isolate the Caucasus by occupying ROSTOV, and the second to cut off the DONETZ from MOSCOW. But in either sector the German advance has been inappreciable. The fighting in the KHARKOV sector would seem to have died down.

The Russian ship *Angarstroi* was stopped by a Japanese ship 130 miles off the Japanese coast and sunk, presumably by a Japanese submarine. The Japanese throw the blame on an American submarine.

China.—After the capture of KWEIKI the Japanese have concentrated their main forces in LINCHWAN (FUEHOW) and NANCHANG to the South-west of KWEIKI, to prepare the way for a drive into FUKIEN

Province. As at CHEKIANG the aim is to take over the air-fields which may be used against JAPAN. Fighting is going on in the outskirts of NANCHIANG, 87 miles south-east of NANCHANG A big battle is raging for the possession of the TAIHANG mountain near LINCHWIN, where the Japanese have moved up to SHIHWAN and FOGA. On the KIANGSI border the Japanese have captured YUKAN, the main objective being the tungsten fields. An offensive has been started towards Lake POYANG in northern KIANGSI.

The Japanese attempt to close the 110 Kilometre gap in the Railway has been foiled by the Chinese recapture of KWEIKI and their resistance at SHANGYO.

It is reported that the Japanese have transferred the bulk of their troops in the PHILIPPINES to FORMOSA for further training. U. S. and British air-craft and personnel have arrived in China.

It is also welcome news that the Chinese are now in a position to launch air-attacks in Central and Northern CHINA. Chinese bombers recently bombed Japanese warship concentrations along the Yangtse.

Burma.—AKYAB has been raided again. The Chinese left behind in BURMA continue their guerilla warfare helped by supplies dropped by transport planes. General Do Choying—Commander-in-chief of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in BURMA has stated that preparations were in progress for an Allied counter-offensive in BURMA, 'which would not be confined to the land operations alone'.

The Pacific.—Australian aircraft attacked the DIAVERA aerodrome in RABAUL and started huge fires in DILLI. Bombs were dropped on installations in TULAGI. American bombers raided WAKE ISLAND. A 'Commando-like' raid was carried out on SALAMUA, in which 60 Japanese were killed or wounded.

In reprisal for guerilla activities, the Japanese have completely destroyed CEBU, the second city in the PHILIPPINES.

The Pacific War Council met again on June 25, when both President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill reviewed the world situation, and envisaged a general policy of agreement between NEW ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA and CHINA. Mr. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister who attended, appealed for air support, and the council realised the importance of the request. Mr. Churchill gave the assurance that the battle of EGYPT would in no way be affected by the failure at TOBRUK.

Mr. Churchill has returned to LONDON and is taking part in the Commons Debate on the Libyan Campaign.

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES.

Date.	Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies	Aircraft losses for Enemies
20—6—42 (Saturday).				
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
NIGHT :—				
	The Naval base at EMDEN			
	Military objectives in North-west GERMANY			
	Aerodromes in HOLLAND			
	Enemy shipping off the DUTCH coast	A vessel hit.	7 planes.	
	LIBYA. (By British planes)			
	Offensive sweeps over the forward areas in LIBYA.			
	Enemy positions near TOBRUK.			
	The aerodrome at TMIMI.			
	The harbour at BENGAZI.			
	RUSSIA (By Russian planes).			
	Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the entire battle area.			
	FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes.			
	Aerodrome buildings, aerodrome and dispersed aircraft at AKYAB.			
	The aerodrome at MAGWE.			
	Buildings at HOMALIN.			
	ALEUTIANS. (By American and British planes).			
	Japanese ships in the harbour at KISKA.	A cruiser and a transport sunk.		
21—6—42 (Sunday).				
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY :—				
	The docks at DUNKIRK.			
NIGHT :—				
	Laying mines in enemy waters.			
	LIBYA. (By British planes).			
	Enemy transport vehicles on the SIDI AZIZ landing ground.			
	The landing grounds at GAZALA.			
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By British planes).			
	An enemy convoy in the MEDITERRANEAN.	2 large vessels hit.		
	RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
	Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the entire front.			
	FAR EAST. (By American and British planes).			
	No information available.			
22—6—42 (Monday).				
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY :—				
	Offensive sweeps over Northern FRANCE and the BELGIAN coast.			
	The docks at DUNKIRK.			
	An enemy aerodrome in Northern FRANCE.			
NIGHT :—				
	The Naval base at EMDEN.			
	Airfields in Northern FRANCE and LOW COUNTRIES.		6 planes.	
	LIBYA. (By British planes).			
	Aerodromes and transport in LIBYA.			
	The rear base of BENGHAZI.			
	Enemy transport on the road between TOBRUK and CAPUZZO.			
	Aerodrome at BAHEIRA.			
	GAZALA and TMIMI.		2 planes.	
	RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
	Air combats and grounded aircraft along the entire battle front.			
	FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
	The aerodrome and the Jetty at AKYAB.			
	The aerodrome at MAGWE.			

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES—*cont.*

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
23—6—42 (Tuesday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
Quays and dock-buildings at DUNKIRK. **An enemy aerodrome** in BRITTANY.	1 ship hit.	1 plane.	2 planes.
NIGHT:—			
Laying mines in enemy waters. **Enemy airfields and railway targets** in HOLLAND and Northern FRANCE.		2 planes.	2 planes.
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Offensive sweeps over the rear areas.			
Transport vehicles and armoured cars along the TOBRUK BARDIA road.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats along the entire Front.			
FAR EAST—BURMA (By American and British planes).			
Aerodrome and buildings at AKYAB.			
The aerodrome at MAGWE.			
24—6—42 (Wednesday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
NIGHT:—			
The submarine base at ST. NAZAIRE. **Enemy airfields** in Northern FRANCE.		No loss.	
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Large columns of enemy motor transport and tanks south of SHEFFERZEN. **Objectives** between DERNA and TMIMI. **Shipping and harbour** at BENGHAZI.		4 planes.	
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats along the entire Front.			
FAR EAST—NEW BRITAIN. (By American and British planes).			
Aerodrome runaways and other buildings **at RABAUL.**			

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
TIMOR. (By American and British planes).			
DILLI.			
25—6—42. (Thursday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
NIGHT:—			
The industrial and military objectives at BREMEN (By 1,000 R. A. F. planes).	Very heavy damage.	52 planes	3 planes.
Enemy air fields in the LOW COUNTRIES.			
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Advancing enemy troops near MERSA MATRUH.			
The harbour and shipping at BENGHAZI.			
The railway south of BENGHAZI.			
Transport in the GAMBUT area.			
TOBRUK.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats along the entire front.			
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
The aerodrome, town and buildings at AKYAB.			
NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).			
LAE and **SALAMAUA.**			
26—6—42 (Friday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
NIGHT:—			
Laying mines in enemy waters. **Enemy airfields and railway objectives in** occupied territory. **Shipping** off the DUTCH coast.		1 plane.	
A large concentrations of ships, troop trains at the railway station in a north German BALTIC Port.			

LIBYA. (By British planes).

Enemy tanks and transport vehicles between SOLLUM and MERSA MATRUH.

The harbour at BENGHAZI.

RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).

Air combats and aircraft on the ground along the whole battle area.

FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).

Dispersed enemy dumps, anti-aircraft positions and troop billets at LAE and SALAMAUA.

SOLOMON Islands. (By American and British planes).

TULAGI.

27—6—42 (Saturday).

GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).

NIGHT:—

Industrial objectives at BREMEN. **Enemy airfields** in Northern FRANCE. **Enemy shipping** off the FRENCH coast.	1 ship set on fire.	11 planes.

LIBYA. (By British planes).

Offensive sweeps and reconnaissance over enemy land forces and landing grounds.		
Transport vehicles between SIDI BARRANI and MERSA MATRUH.		
The aerodrome at DERNA.		2 planes.

RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).

Air combats over the entire Front.	384 enemy planes shot down for the week 20th to 27th.	

FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).

Troops' dispositions at LAE and SALAMAUA

SOLOMON Islands. (By American and British planes).

Wharf area at TULAGI.

28—6—42 (Sunday).

NIGHT:—

The submarine base at ST. NAZAIRE.

Enemy airfields and railway objectives in occupied FRANCE.

Enemy shipping in the ENGLISH CHANNEL.

LIBYA. (By British planes).

Enemy concentrations of motor transport and tanks between MERSA MATRUH and SOLLUM.	Big fires started. Heavy damage inflicted.
Reconnaissance over the forward enemy units.	
The harbour at BENGHAZI.	
TOBRUK.	

RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).

Air combats and aircraft on the ground along the entire front.

FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).

Reconnaissance over SALAMAUA.

ENEMY Air Raids over ALLIED Territories.

Date.	Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.	Aircraft losses for Allies.
21—6—42. (Sunday).				
	BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
DAY:—				
	South-West coast of ENGLAND.		1 plane.	
NIGHT:—				
	A coastal district in South ENGLAND.			
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.		4 planes.	
	LIBYA. (By German planes).			
	Br. positions near SOLLUM.			

ENEMY Air Raids over Allied Territories—*cont.*

Date.	Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies	Aircraft losses for Allies.
22—6—42 (Monday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
	No information available.			
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	Egyptian coast between SIDI BARRANI and FUKA.			
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.		10 planes. Many more damaged.	
23—6—42 (Tuesday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
NIGHT:—	**A few places** in EAST ANGLIA.	No damage or casualties.	1 plane.	
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.		3 planes.	
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	British positions on the LIBYA—EGYPTIAN frontier.			
24—6—42 (Wednesday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
NIGHT:—	**A town** in west MIDLANDS and **a few places** in south-east ENGLAND.		5 planes.	
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.			
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	British positions on the EGYPTIAN frontier.			
25—6—42 (Thursday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
	No information available.			
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.		4 planes.	
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	[illegible] near MERSA MATRUH.			

Date.	Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies	Aircraft losses for Allies
26—6—42 (Friday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
NIGHT:—	**A coastal district** in Southern ENGLAND. **A town** in EAST ANGLIA.	Slightly damaged.		
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.		7 planes.	
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	MERSA MATRUH.			
	FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA (By Jap planes)			
	Port MORESBY.	No serious damage.	6 planes.	
27—6—42 (Saturday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
NIGHT:—	NORWICH.	A few casualties and slight damage.	3 planes.	
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.		7 planes.	
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	MERSA MATRUH.			
28—6—42 (Sunday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
NIGHT:—	**A place** on South-West ENGLAND.		2 planes.	
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.		3 planes	
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	British positions between DABA and BIR EL ARAB.			
29—6—42. (Monday).	**BRITAIN. (By German planes).**			
NIGHT:—	**A number of places** on the West and South coasts of ENGLAND.	Slight damage and a few casualties.	2 planes.	
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
	MALTA.			
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
	British positions around MERSA MATRUH.			

SIDE LIGHTS.

NEW VISTAS. As the war worker looks round he will find new vistas open and new horizons expand. Apart from the dissemination of information so necessary to correct the distorted news and views so assiduously spread by the enemy he will discover other fields of work. Instead of harping in season and out of season on mere morale, which may degenerate into a sentiment he will find himself an unconscious, but, no less effective, agent for the promotion of social and material warfare.

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GROW MORE. In a few days H. E the Viceroy will set a personal example by sowing vegetable and fruit seeds and seedlings in his own beautiful gardens, and let us hope that on that day and in the following days all INDIA will follow the great example. Fortunately, for us, in the south, except in large cities, every house owns a patch of open ground, where, till lately, a kitchen garden was raised. This good old practice staled by custom may be revived: the older members of the families planting, while the young till and water. All this is intended not merely to revive a hobby, or to restore the dignity of labour but is planned to meet a war necessity as well. The enemy is on the Burmese frontier on one side and feeling his way towards INDIA from the Middle-East. INDIA has to feed herself, her armies and her Middle-East Allies, besides sending supplies to CHINA, which is her eastern bastion. Meanwile, her usual supplies from the eastern lands have been cut off by Japanese occupation: she must also feed CEYLON. We already experience the food problem in the slow rise of prices and the scarcity of certain commodities.

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WASTE NOT. This is an auxiliary. Let us grow more, and consume less, than before. In LONDON, Major Gwilym Lloyd George, Minister of Fuel, broadcast on Sunday that waste of fuel—such as coal gas, electricity and liquid fuel, even to the extent of lighting shop-windows and show cases, will henceforth constitute an offence. We too have a lesson to learn, though we may not use fuel to the extent that cold countries do. We too have need to practise economy in fuel, though in other ways. The rationing of petrol, and the use of charcoal-gas for automobiles, are an indication. With the loss of BURMA, our eastern oil supply has been cut off. Every bag of charcoal or coal saved, every electric bulb less lighted in our homes, will add to the power in the factories that forge our weapons of war. Every passenger less on the Railways means a soldier more carried to the firing line. Every ounce of oil saved will speed an aeroplane, or a sea-craft on its victorious errand. Thrift, truly considered,

is War service. Every handful of rice saved diminishes the need of new production. A regiment could be fed on the washings of the careless housewife running to waste down the gutter. Every penny saved and invested in War bonds is a bullet forged. Every new recruit for the battle line or the factory is so much man-power saved for victory, just as every enemy falsehood nailed to the counter and every man or woman raised in morale will help to ensure victory.

Let us remember that while Governments labour towards this end, this is essentially a people's movement—the work of practical democracy. In England most of this work is done by *ad hoc* bodies, by the method of Trial-Error-Success, by combining individual freedom with responsibility, personal initiative with planned efficiency. In Britain, for this purpose the country has been divided into regions, and placed under regional ministers of production. Under Sir George Stapledon's scheme, collective utilisation of pasture has been planned, and the movement of 'Dairy Herds' has proved a success. Potatoes, green vegetables, and cereals are grown in increasing measure. Agricultural wages have doubled. ENGLAND has now become what Mr. Winant happily calls 'a service Democracy, evolved in blitzed LONDON, a guarantee of Allied Victory and a Peoples' Peace later'? When peace comes the drive for tanks will become a drive for houses; the drive for food a drive for universal welfare.

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THE TRANS-ATLANTIC MEETING. The recent Roosevelt—Churchill meeting in WASHINGTON is the third of its kind; the first meeting took place in August in the bosom of the Atlantic, on board American and British Warships; the second meeting was at Christmas, at WASHINGTON, and the third, last week in WASHINGTON again, all within a year. Each meeting has proved historic—the first resulting in the Atlantic Charter; and the second in a joint Anglo-American Plan of Co-operation, the fruits of which have become apparent in the Coral Sea and Midway actions, the arrival of American planes and armies in INDIA, and the relief of British forces in NORTHERN IRELAND. The present meeting, preceded, significantly enough, by the Moltov visits, the Anglo Soviet Alliance, and the U. S. Soviet Agreements, envisages shipping, supplies, strategy and a Second-Front. Metaphorically speaking, the twin pillared Anglo-American front has now become an Anglo-American-Soviet tripod.

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PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORT are the needs of the hour. On the first point we have President Roosevelt's own assurance on June 26 that American monthly production has now mounted up to 4,000 planes, 1,500 tanks and 1,00,000 planes. The U. S. Transport Department announced on the same day the establishment of a world wide military air transport system.

BRITISH GUARANTEES. On the British side an Anglo-soviet agreement signed in MOSCOW last week guarantees military supplies to RUSSIA. Armaments made in Britain and the Dominions will be delivered without payment. The British Government has also made a new credit of £ 20 millions to RUSSIA, in addition to that of £ 10 millions already given.

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NO FINANCIAL RECKONING. AMERICA too has travelled far—very far indeed from her cash-and-carry days, not to speak of her earlier days of isolation. In his recent fifth report on Lease Lend to Congress President Roosevelt has said that there will be no financial reckoning at the end of the war. 'In return for lend and lease aid the UNITED STATES will expect no nation to do more than fight her utmost to rid the world of Nazism and Japanese militarism.' The report will be laid before Congress and if accepted, the commitments will be morally binding.

Walter Lippman commenting on June 18, on this great step states :—

" In the first commitment we shall not regard munitions exports to the United Nations and their reciprocate services as a financial accouut to be settled some day in money and goods. We have adopted the principle that, when a nation has given all it can to fighting our enemies, it has given all we can ever ask.

" Thus, once and for all, we discard the idea, the horrible and embarassing idea even to contemplate, that financial accounting could ever be discussed where, in blood and agony, the Chinese, Russians, British, Poles, Czechs, Norwegians and Dutch are weighed in some kind of balance with that of our men at BATAAN, CORREGIDOR, the Java Sea, the Coral Sea, MIDWAY, the ALEUTIANS, and the Mediterranean.

" There is no way whereby the United Nations can assess the debt that each owes the other. How can any price be placed upon what a people have given when they have given everything ? What debt-collector will ever dare stand up and tell us the financial value of the Battle of Britain, or of the defence of MOSCOW, or of MALTA, or of the CZECHS, who perished like mice ? There will be no such monstrous reckoning".

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THE EGYPTIAN FRONTIER. Unwelcome news continues to come from the Egyptian frontier where the 8th Army, still intact and continually slowing the enemy down has been forced back to the east of MERSA MATRUH. The best news, however, is Auchinleck's assumption of Command, Churchill's confidence in the situation, and Nahas Pasha's assurance that 'despite obvious difficulties, the present military situation is satisfactory'. An 'Indian Army Observer' at CAIRO describes

the withdrawal as a battle of Manoeuvre rather than retreat, and thinks that the 8th Army 'daily improves strategical positions in the battle of Egypt'. His further remarks are also worthy quoting. He says, 'It is unwise to stress MERSA as a particular battlefield. It is really only a phase in a continuous operation designed to exhaust the enemy and prepare a counter-stroke.

'It is now apparent', he adds, 'that enemy armour is behind time-table; there is little interference with our dispositions. Signs abound that our mobile columns are forcing him to split up his Panzer mass, which constitutes his only serious threat.'

All this may be too optimistic, but we feel that the attempt in certain quarters to find fault with our gallant men who are fighting our battle far away from their homes, at the sacrifice of their lives, is definitely pessimistic and painful. Mr. Churchill is an old parliamentary hand and knows the way to meet censure motions: and Parliament will also show its mind by voting confidence, by an overwhelming majority. Meanwhile the traducers of the heroic men at the front will have their day, and help the enemy who is describing the American planes as of 'poor quality', and DE GAULE'S men as 'mercenaries'. General Smuts is a truer son of the Empire. In a stirring recruiting appeal issued on June 28, he said:

"The call of fallen TOBRUK is to replace the men lost there and behave in a manner worthy of the 'Heroes of the Front'—their call to us is to carry on, continue the fight and complete the work they would have done, had they not been struck down.'

'Are we going to respond,' he asks 'or to sit back nursing our wounds. Let the critics who are busy with the post-mortem on TOBRUK not touch the heroes in it—Nor can the British, Indian and the South African troops be blamed. The blame, if any, must be placed elsewhere.

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THE CONVOY EPISODE. The enemy has been surpassing himself in falsehood in recounting the losses in the recent attack on British convoys to MALTA and TOBRUK. On June 17 BERLIN announced that the British had lost 4 Cruisers, and 2 Destroyers: and on June 17 TOKYO increased the loss to 1 Battle-ship, 2 Aircraft-carriers, 6 Cruisers, 5 Destroyers, and 2 Patrol ships. A battle ship of the non-existent 'Gibraltar' class was also included. In view of these progressive lies the following official figures furnished by Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons are furnished :—

British.	Enemy
1 Light cruiser (16 in. guns.)	1 Heavy cruiser (8 in' guns).
4 Destroyers.	2 Destroyers.
2 Escort vessels.	1 U-Boat.
30 Air craft.	65 Air craft.

The loss of naval tonnage was nearly equal.

GENERAL ELIAS. The former Czech Premier, was executed on June 19 charged with an attempt on Heydrich's life. Elias was one of the earliest victims of the Heydrich régime. About a year ago he was charged with plotting against the Reich and communicating with President Benes, and imprisoned. For ten months he lay in a concentration camp under Nazi surveillance; and the Germans also announced that the real culprits of whom Elias was not one, had been discovered. It is passing strange that Elias should have been dragged out of his prison now and executed under the plea of complicity in the Heydrich murder.

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MASS MURDER AND ANNIHILATION. These appear to be in fact the Nazi's favourite rites for appeasing the departed spirit of Heydrich. The mass executions, amounting to 520 up to Monday, June 22 included 72 women. In addition to the annihilation of LADICE, LEZAKYAB, another village, 60 miles away from PRAGUE, has been wiped out and the entire male population–about a hundred–charged with hiding parachutist–assassins.

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LADICE. The following extract gives a gruesome picture of the destruction of LADICE drawn by a Czech Exile in a B. B. C. talk on June 12 :—

I used to know the village of Ladice quite well as it stood there beside the main car roads from PRAGUE; the inhabitants, about five hundred of them, were mainly miners of the KLADNO coal district and small farmers, their names were all Horak or Stibel. Never in history has such cruelty been committed; there have been mass executions in POLAND, in RUSSIA, in NORWAY, but at least the children were left either to live or die with their mothers. Not so in Ladice. After witnessing the execution of their husbands, the wives were torn away from their children, even the newly born, and to-day while I speak these words, they are being driven away in cattle trucks to some horrible distant grim camp in GERMANY. Tragedy and grief are complete. I knew Mrs. Horakova. She was fortyfive, and had four children; her husband and her eldest son had been shot in front of her; her seventeen years old daughter driven away with the two small boys, aged six and four, while she herself stares into the void sitting on a trough, shoulder to shoulder with other women whose eyes have no more tears. Only one hope is left to them, and to all of them, and that is, the army—the powerful, hard, victorious, and unforgiving army which will put an end, once and for all, to the blight of suffering of my people, and of all the peoples of EUROPE, and open all the prison camps throughout the Reich of the German nation. But for all times there will be a memorial of this darkest age on the place

where to-day are lying the smouldering ruins of a village that we used to pass in old days without even noticing.

In the Czechoslovak Air Force in Great Britain are two pilots, who come from this village. I know what they have promised to each other to-day.

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BANGKOK INTRIGUES. BANGKOK is now used as a propaganda centre in the Japanese intrigues against INDIA. During the last war also, BANGKOK was employed as a convenient base for Nazi propaganda, making a catspaw of certain 'Indians', whom Hitler, contemptuously described later as 'Oriental mountebanks'. In the present war, Ernest Wendler, a notorious German,—expelled from BOLIVIA for his attempt to incite rebellion, was posted to THAILAND as German 'Ambassador' and placed in control of the BANGKOK Radio. With much trumpeting he has now staged the so-called 'Indian Independence Rally' under the auspices of the BANGKOK Radio itself. '100 representatives' of 'some two million Indians in the Eastern Countries' are said to have attended the rally; what a magnificant ratio! the Japanese Radio Broadcasting on June 17, kindly warned 'the Indian Conference of independence at BANGKOK' 'to reach a decision as quickly as possible, since the news received from India was increasingly bad'.

It is unnecessary to add that all this is a sham. There are already some Indians in SIAM, engaged in foreign trade. They are completely dependent on Japan's economic policy for their livelihood, and for their very lives on Japanese mercy. If they are bidden to a meeting they must go; and if they are asked to make an announcement they must.

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BLESS THEE BOTTOM: There is evidence to show that SIAM, is used in other ways also as a pawn in JAPAN's imperialistic game. The relevant Japanese policy is outlined in the TOKYO broadcast, 'If we lead THAILAND, we shall gain BURMA' If we lead BURMA, we shall also gain INDIA'.

SIAM has been fooled and Songgram the Premier made a puppet dictator in a puppet state, with a scheme of puppet imperialism. For this Thai troops were employed in an advance into the SHAN STATES. Songgram has been told that RANGOON will be administered according to Siamese Law.

Flushed with excitement and swollen with importance, Songgram broadcast on June 15: 'THAILAND is going to keep up the culture of INDIA and the Thais are going to do their utmost to liberate INDIA. The Thais and Indians are now to follow the orders of the Thai Leader.

Songgram is reported to receive his callers under a life-size photograph of Mussolini. Evidently he fancies himself an eastern Mussolini.

Bless thee, Bottom!

THE ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL STATEMENT.

NO UNDERRATING OF THE TASK.

"The week of conferences between the U. S. President and the British Prime Minister covered very fully all major problems of the war which is conducted by the United Nations on every continent and in every sea.

"We have taken full cognizance of our disadvantages as well as our advantages. We do not underrate the task. We have conducted our conferences with a full knowledge of the power and resourcefulness of our enemies. In the matter of the production of munitions of all kinds, the survey gives on the whole an optimistic picture. Previously planned monthly output has not reached the maximum, but is fast approaching it on schedule.

A QUESTION OF TRANSPORT.

"Because of the wide extension of the war to all parts of the world, the transportation of the fighting Forces, together with the transportation of munitions of war and supplies, still constitutes the major problem of the United Nations. While submarine warfare on the part of the Axis continues to take a heavy toll of cargo ships, actual production of new tonnage is greatly increasing month by month. It is hoped that, as a result of the steps planned at this conference, our respective Navies will further reduce the toll of merchant shipping. The United Nations have never been in such hearty and detailed agreement on plans for winning the war as they are to-day.

HEROIC RESISTANCE.

"We recognise and applaud Russian resistance to the main attack that is being made by Germany, and rejoice in the magnificent resistance of the Chinese Army.

GERMAN STRENGTH WILL BE DIVERTED.

"Detailed discussions were held with our Military advisers on the methods to be adopted against Japan and for the relief of China. While our plans, for obvious reasons, cannot be disclosed, it can be said

that the coming operations, which were discussed in detail at the Washington conferences between ourselves and our respective Military advisers, will divert German strength from the attack on Russia.

PRESENT CONDITIONS ARE MORE FAVOURABLE TO VICTORY.

"The Prime Minister and the President have met twice before, first in August, 1941, and again in December, 1941. There is no doubt in their minds that the over-all picture is more favourable to victory than it was either in August or December last year."

THE DIVE-BOMBER.

by

Wing Commander L. V. Fraser.

What is the attitude of the British Air Staff towards dive-bombers? Few questions have been asked more frequently throughout this war. The Air Staff has been accused of pooh-poohing the dive-bomber. It has been accused of "ignoring the lessons of a dozen campaigns". It has had all manner of attacks levelled at it—all because of the dive-bomber.

But what are the facts?

The Air Staff has never at any time pooh-poohed the dive-bomber, never ignored its possibilities as Britain understood them. The Air Staff would in fact have been quite happy to have, as a powerful part of the strength of the Royal Air Force, a strong and numerous fleet of dive-bombers.

FIRST THINGS FIRST.

But when war broke out, the Royal Air Force had to build up to the powerful weapon it is to-day. That was a gradual process, carefully planned to meet the needs of the time. Certain essentials were necessary. A strong fighter force for one thing. The Battle of Britain proved that. Could dive-bombers have resisted the enemy as did the Spitfires and Hurricanes? Then a bombing force had to be built up—a bombing force which could operate far over Germany from Britain. Dive-bombers could have reached Germany from France. But Britain was not operating from France for so very long.

So the Air Staff concentrated for home production on immediate needs. Home production met, and is continuing to meet, those needs. But there was nothing then to spare for anything else.

PRE-WAR EXPERIMENTS.

Meanwhile the Air Staff had its eye on the dive-bomber, and weighed up just exactly what this new weapon could do. Long before the war, Britain had

experimented with dive-bombers. The Hart was designed and used experimentally as a dive-bomber. It showed faint possibilities, nothing more. So the Air Staff looked to America and placed orders for dive-bombers.

When was that? A week or two ago? Last year? No; the orders were given in July, 1940. It is true that, as stated recently in the House of Commons, deliveries are only coming through now. There is nothing unusual in that. The Halifax, just off the secret list, was put into commission 19 months ago. Yet the plans were prepared almost five years ago. Three years from blue-prints to production is not bad going for a new-type aeroplane.

All belligerents, then, are going to have dive-bombers—the United Nations as well as the Axis. But what exactly is a dive-bomber? What are its advantages, what its limitations?

ACCURATE BOMBING.

The dive-bomber is a specially designed aircraft equipped with diving brakes enabling it to dive at an angle of some 60 degrees at a high rate of speed. The Stuka is generally recognised as the top line in dive-bombers.

Perhaps the Royal Air Force already has its answer to these. The sharp angle of attack gives great accuracy to bombing.

Questions why Britain does not have dive-bombers, usually come after such reverses as the loss of the aircraft-carrier *Hermes*, the sinking of which was claimed as "another triumph for the dive-bomber." In point of fact the *Hermes* was not sunk by dive-bombers but by waves of high-flying aircraft. It is admitted, however, that it is in just such circumstances that the dive-bomber is at its best. It can operate successfully just so long as it has adequate air superiority. With adequate superiority dive-bombers can attack a target from all points of the compass, in such a manner and at such speed as to give anti-aircraft defences little or no chance of shooting them down, in the short period it takes to release the bombs.

ITS DEFECTS.

Much has been written about the shattering effect of dive-bombing upon a concentration of troops. Given air superiority, this is a powerful method of attack, but on the other hand it is no more devastating than strafing by the cannon-firing and multi-machine-gun Spitfires and Hurricanes. **It has been proved times without number that a modern fighter can shoot a dive-bomber out of the sky. The fantastic figures of the Battle of Britain provide one example, Malta, even where the enemy has substantial air superiority, is another.** And again, a dive-bomber is fairly easily shot down by light A—A, and small arms fire from the ground, always provided that the man on the target takes advantage of the "no allowance" shot offered by the aircraft as it dives "down the

barrel of the gun." Then successful use depends on sufficient air superiority—and there have been more occasions than not in the war when the R. A F. has won victories against heavy odds.

Now, however, the picture is changing. Future historians may say that Britain got her dive-bombers just when they could be used to the best advantage.

THE GERMAN HOME FRONT.

A PATCHWORK OF DEVICES TO INCREASE OUTPUT.

(*From the London Times*).

Formidable as the German offensive may be, its effectiveness must depend on the home front. The gigantic and infinitely complicated German war machine can function effectively only if every individual part works faultlessly

German losses in men and materials on the east front were so unexpected and so enormous, and the quality and extent of the Russian reserves have proved so formidable, that the first step in preparing the offensive was to raise and equip new armies powerful enough to grapple with the task of rolling back the oncoming Russian flood. That meant depriving civilian occupations in Germany of the very last man capable of bearing arms, irrespective of age, the recall of German nationals from neutral countries like Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. the recruitment of legionaries and the raising of new armies in allied countries like Hungary and Rumania. Even in Axis countries it is not denied that this composite army has nothing like the quality of that homogeneous German army that invaded Russia so elatedly last June.

A LOWER POTENTIAL.

The withdrawal of such vast numbers of workers from civilian occupations, already undermanned, could not but cause chronic dislocation unless ingenious measures could be taken to fill the gaps.

Formerly the industries making consumption goods accounted for about 60 per cent of the entire industrial output of Germany. Now consumption goods account for only about one-fifth of the whole output.

Just as the numerical inflation of the fighting forces has inevitably resulted in a lower standard of military worth, the crowding into industry of workers at jobs for which they have not been trained lowers the general industrial potential. Nevertheless this new industrial army is expected to reach

standards of output far beyond anything known before. Recently the Reich Labour Ministry coined the slogan: "Two to produce as much as three"—an increase of 50 per cent on the normal output of skilled specialists.

FOREIGNERS AND WOMEN.

Whether there has been any numerical increase of workers in the Reich compared with pre-war is difficult to determine. Fluctuations are incessant, as men are withdrawn for military service, women take up new jobs, boys and girls leave school, older workers die, and more foreign labour is imported. But the figures published at least show that the number of workers now is less than in 1939, foreigners being included but prisoners of war (about 2,000,000, chiefly working on farms and roads) omitted. Not only is there no numerical increase, but there is no equivalence of efficiency.

In 1939 the total number of women gainfully employed was about 8,300,000. To-day it is 9,400,000. Only about 750,000 of this total increase of 1,100,000 are German women. An increase of women workers to 10,000,000 is envisaged. That would be a maximum. If it is reached, about 1,000,000 more German women will be doing men's jobs.

For many reasons there is a limit to the foreign workers usefully employable. Nowhere in Europe is there any real substitute for the German skilled industrial worker. Estimates of the number of Germans with the colours vary between 9,000,000 and 12,000,000. Imported foreign workers do not yet number quite 3,000,000., although they might ultimately aggregate 4,000,000. Few of them have any desire to see Germany victorious. Most volunteered to work in Germany because they had families to support and found no work at home. They have no love for National-Socialism. They certainly do not cheer for German victories. Poles and Czechs openly exult at German defeats.

SULLEN WORKERS.

All these foreign elements have mysterious ways of obtaining news from B. B. C. broadcasts and maintain whispering campaigns. Their complaints about food and working conditions are incessant. Unless foreign workers are segregated from the Germans there is an unmistakable deterioration of German moral. To check this, foreigners are as a rule engaged only for six months. Difficulties arise, too, from differences in language, religion, tradition. But depite all these drawbacks the German need for workers is so great, and the number of volunteers so inadequate, that the Reich is now considering the conscription of workers from the occupied territories.

Inside Germany the plan still is to use Germans for making war material and foreigners for civilian production. This year occupied countries are being employed on making war material also, since the German potential is now not great enough. To save coal and transport, work is concentrated in the fewest possible factories.

SPECIAL MEASURES.

Office staffs are reduced to a fraction of their former size. Manufacturers have been compelled to pool all technical knowledge and experience. Wages are in many districts paid only once a month to reduce office work. Where factories are using processes based on the moving-band principle, workers are all chosen from the same age groups, because it has been found that then all work at about the same rate, bottlenecks being fewest. In many processes automatic machines needing only the attention of semi-skilled, or even unskilled, workers have been installed.

Trial has shown that a 10-hour day is the longest consistent with efficiency. To conserve the largest number of skilled men at places where their efficiency is greatest, the military authorities are giving up the former practice of calling up men by name for military service. The factory owner receives a demand for a specified number of men for army service, and chooses those whose absence disturbs the work least.

It is believed that, by this multiplicity of measures, the mobilization of European man-power has reached the limits of utility. There seem to be no more hidden reserves. Wherever machines could replace human hands that has been done. Men have gravitated to the jobs for which they are best fitted. Everything now awaits the totalitarian test.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RUNDSTEDT

Another Marne Possible

(*From the Observer*).

1914 & 1942

The general picture at present is different from that of September, 1914, yet one similarity has come to the surface in the past few days which lends a new importance to the movements, political and military, across the Channel.

THE WINTER WAR.

What has happened in the last few days is the culmination of the winter war which the Germans had not expected. The Nazis are held outside Moscow, Leningrad, and Rostov. The Russian troops are testing these strongholds all along the line. A gap anywhere in the German scheme of defence would be fatal to their whole scheme of hedgehog defence.

The German defence pattern on the Eastern Front kept its main outline throughout the cold bitter winter months by the employment of just over 100 divisions. These included, after the Russian December offensive, crack regiments such as the Waffen S.S. the Austrian and Bavarian Alpine troops,

General Student's paratroops turned infantry, and Guderian's Panzer Divisions.

These have suffered badly, though not as seriously as is imagined in some quarters. The real significance, however, is not in the degree of their loss but in the margin by which it has exceeded the anticipations of the German Staff. This margin is considerable.

NEW NAZI TROOPS.

The 100 divisions on the front are being reinforced with another 80 to 100 divisions made up from men withdrawn from industry and agriculture. **These are in every sense of the word new troops**. They are above the age of previous German divisions, and they belong to the generation which has passively accepted the Nazi rule, but which has never shown any fanatic desire to die for it.

The Nazis know this, and this makes the distribution of the new troops a task of peculiar delicacy. They dare not use them in France, Holland, or Norway. They must be sent to the East, and must be mixed with tried Nazi troopers.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RUNDSTEDT'S ARRIVAL IN FRANCE.

The Nazi offensive against the Vichy Government and arrival of von Rundstedt must be set against this background. Von Rundstedt's róle hitherto has never been that of a staff officer who plans his moves. On the contrary he has been the executor par excellence of the German staff plans. He was the obvious choice as commander of the push against the Caucasus. His sudden withdrawal means more, therefore, than a rearrangement of high commands.

The Germans have had all this time between twenty and thirty divisions in France. But these troops have been tied down to static defence, and our Commando and bombing raids on France have increased the pressure on their defensive disposition. There is nothing much that Rundstedt could do with them which another less offensively minded general could not do equally well.

DRAWN FROM RUSSIA.

It is therefore safe to assume that von Rundstedt will have come to France accompained by the instrument with which he is accustomed to operate: his armoured divisions, and these can have only come from the Eastern Front. Rommel had none to spare, the Balkans were only meagrely supplied, the reserves maintained inside Germany will not be touched except as a last resort. There remain therefore only the assembled divisions of Panzers at Kiev, Smolensk and on the Dnieper to draw upon.

The re-entry of France into the battle areas is accompanied by serious developments for the Allies at sea, but equally, therefore, with great opportunities by land. With Russian parity achieved before the offensive opens, with Russian command over their own sky, the Nazis cannot now afford any serious drain on their strength without the dreaded apparition of the Marne reappearing.

THE MARNE AND THE DNIEPER.

They have however, taken the first step towards it happening by staking so much on the French Fleet. The first possibilities of a real gap in the Nazi Eastern defence become thus apparent. A combined Allied strategy now calls obviously to Russia's Western Allies to make certain that this gap becomes a reality, and that the Germans will have to re-live the Marne experience, this time on the Borodino and the Dnieper.

The consequence of the Marne in 1914 was the Kaiser's defeat in 1918. Events move more rapidly in 1942.

WHY JAPAN WANTS TO CONSOLIDATE HER GAINS IN CHINA.

by

Lieut.-General Sir Douglas Brownrigg.

Developments elsewhere must not be allowed to rivet our attention to the exclusion of the rather strange happenings in China. Discussion of the developments there must, therefore, claim our thoughts this week in preference to speculation about the drama unfolding itself on the Black Sea and the Baltic. [—and Egypt also—*Editor.*]

When Japan entered into war against the United States with her attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, it seemed as if the Chinese who had already been fighting the Japanese continuously for four years, might gain something of a respite ; and this view was strengthened by reports of Japanese troops' withdrawals from China to join in attacks on the Philippines and Malaya.

BY THE BACK DOOR.

But unfortunately the success of Japanese arms has been so rapid that in less than six months her armies have reached the back door into China by way of Lashio and the Burma Road. The Japanese now control for its entire length, from Rangoon into the province of Yunnan, the supply line by which the factories of Britain and America poured the life-blood into China. Not only is that life-line completely severed, but it has become the main axis of advance into the heart of China from the west for the Japanese troops, who have just managed to occupy the whole of Burma before the breaking of the

monsoon. At the moment, Japanese forces are pushing up this axis of advance towards Chungking, and at the same time others are renewing offensive operations on the South China seaboard in the province of Chekiang, which lies immediately to the south of Shanghai. This fairly obviously betokens an intention of trying to finish off China, whilst advanced Japanese forces are strung out along the outpost line from the Bay of Bengal to the Coral Sea, and to consolidate their gains against the inevitable counter-offensive, which will one day be launched from Australia or India, or from both. This line of action by Japan is likely best to serve her purpose.

ITS ADVANTAGES.

In the first place it conserves her sea power, as practically no extra strain is thrown on her navy; in the second place she can carry on with the mopping-up of Chinese resistance, whilst guarded from outside interference by her line of outposts strung out on an arc of 5,000 miles from Rangoon to New Britain. In the trench warfare of the last war it was usual for attacking troops to go right through to their distant objective, whilst parties were specially detailed to mop up centres of resistance which had been overrun in the speed of the initial advance. I suggest that this will be Japan's line of action, now that China is temporarily separated from all contact with her allies except by the northern route from Russia.

Every wise commander has alternative plans in his head. I suspect that Plan 1 was for Japan to push westwards *via* Colombo and Madagascar, in an attempt to join hands with the Germans in the Persian Gulf. But that plan was upset once Madagascar was controlled by the United Nations. Hitler's delay in getting ahead with his offensive against Russia must also have caused the Japanese leaders food for thought. What would be more natural, therefore, than for Japan to turn her attention more to her own immediate needs, rather than to sacrifice any advantage in the cause of her alliance with Germany.

SECOND PLAN.

It seems to me, therefore, that recent events made the Japanese General Staff pull out of their drawer their second plan—that is, the plan to make hay while the sun shines, to make secure what she has already gained and mop up inside the outpost line. This gives the United Nations time to build up their forces in Australia and India for a great counter-offensive; but to go still further afield, with a view to interfering with this great assembly, would stretch to breaking point the elasticity of the Japanese fleet, without whose cover the whole area of Japanese expansion would be in jeopardy.

If my deductions are correct, it shows that Japan is thinking much more of her own interests than those of the Axis as a whole; and this is a very welcome sign.

THE INDIAN AIR-FORCE IN BURMA.

ONLY NINE YEARS OLD, BUT IT CAN FIGHT.

Less than nine years after its formation the I. A. F., youngest Air Force of the British Empire, found itself on active service for the first time. Formed no longer ago than April 1, 1933, the Indian Air Force sent one Squadron to Burma, where all ranks earned for themselves a very high reputation. A special word of praise was bestowed on them by Air Marshal Sir Richard Peirse, Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, India, who remarked that he felt very confident that the achievements of the Squadron in the Burma campaign were only a forerunner of what we may expect from the I. A. F. when the remaining Squadrons take their places in the air. This incidentally was a clear indication by the A. O. C.-in-Chief of the part which Indian airmen will be called upon to play should their homeland be attacked.

During the early days of their service in Burma, the I. A. F. were frequently employed in their rôle as an Army Co-operation Squadron, in support of the British and Indian troops then engaged in the battles on the Salween and Bilin rivers. At that time the American Volunteer Group and the Royal Air Force had established air superiority over the Japanese, and successes in the air had a very noticeable effect in heartening our ground forces.

One of the big days of I. A. F. in Burma was Wednesday, February 4th. In company with bombers of the R. A. F., led by the Indian Squadron Leader, they made a raid in force on one of the aerodromes then occupied by the enemy in Thailand. The aerodrome buildings and installations and aircraft dispersed on the ground were all attacked, the raid being officially described by the R. A. F. Command in Burma as "very successful".

INTO THAILAND.

In the weeks which followed, during which we had to abandon Rangoon and establish our fighting line north of the city, the Squadron distinguished itself on many occasions in pursuance of their determination to give every possible support to our ground troops. Often they had to forego necessities, not to mention comforts. They slept under the wings of their aircraft in mosquito-infested fields, meals being uncertain and a bath an event which had to be written home about!

In one notable raid, a Pilot Officer, who comes from Madras, led a raid in which R. A. F. bombers again participated with the I. A. F. There was very close cordiality between the veterans of the R. A. F. who had fought on

other fields and the Indians. In the raid, targets were bombed from as low as 500 feet. Moulmein, Martaban, Dayinzeik, Bilin and other enemy occupied areas in Burma were raided by the Indians, who also carried out a number of attacks on targets in Thailand.

"We could see the Japs frantically trying to get away as we dived down on them", said one of the Indian Pilot Officers, in describing the raid on Chiengmai, where there had been large enemy troop concentrations. This was a most determined raid, and as they flew back to their base the Indian crews could see dense clouds of black and white smoke rising hundreds of feet in the air. In a raid on Mehongsohn, from which the civilian population had been evacuated, the Indians were escorted by Hurricanes, and the military bases which had been established there were badly battered.

Coming down and ground-strafing, the Indians destroyed a monoplane and severely damaged another, and the wireless station was left burning. Day after day the Indians were busily engaged in reconnaissance of enemy territory, and they achieved excellent results both in visual and photographic "recces". They were congratulated by the A. O. C. in Burma and were all proud of a signal from General Sir Archibald Wavell, who, in complimenting the pilots and observers, said that their work had made "all the difference".

Now the Squadron is eagerly looking forward to its share in the next phase of the struggle, and the other Squadrons are likewise anticipating their entry on the Great Adventure in which the nine-year-old air force is proving that it is a lusty infant.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

OF THE

Pudukkottai State National War Front Bureau.

1942—

LECTURE CII—(*Batch 4*).

July ... 4, Saturday ...	Municipal Office	...	6.30 p. m.
5, Sunday ...	Nirpalani	...	6.00 p. m.
	Avoor	...	6.30 p. m.
6, Monday ...	Karaiyur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Idaiyattur	...	6.30 p. m.
7, Tuesday ...	Andakkulam	...	6.00 p. m.
	Killanur	...	6.30 p. m.
8, Wednesday.	Kiranur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Nanjur	...	6.30 p. m.
9, Thursday ...	Vadavalam	...	6.00 p. m.
	Sammattividuthi	...	6.30 p. m.

LECTURE CIII—(*Batch 5*).

12, Sunday ...	Tiruvarangulam	...	6.00 p. m.
	Vamban	...	6.30 p. m.
13, Monday ...	Malaikkudippatti	...	6.00 p. m.
	Tulaiyanur	...	6.30 p. m.
14, Tuesday ...	Kulavoippatti	...	6.00 p. m.
	Kilaiyur (South)	...	6.30 p. m.
15, Wednesday.	Vellanur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Sembattur	...	6.30 p. m.
16, Thursday ...	Pallivasal	...	6.00 p. m.
	Pillamangalam	...	6.30 p. m.
17, Friday ...	Puliyur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Kannangudi	...	6.30 p. m.

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